/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/45 cont./

565 Below the common people are the haraten /Haratin/, par-
563 ticularly numerous, as we have seen, in the valleys of the Sous and especially of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, as well as in the oases of the Noun and Bani. Of diverse origins, they are perhaps the result of the crossing of the ancient black populations of the Sahara and slaves from the Sudan, introduced in large numbers by the Berbère /Berber/ conquerors or bought by the sultans from the Arab slave traders. As a matter of fact, the Makhzen /makhzan/ has always been a great importer of blacks. They are also found in large numbers in the vicinity of the casbahs of kaids or near sherifian fortresses. In the Anti-Atlas they have mingled without difficulty with the tribes of the Igezzoulen (1),

1. "In spite of this political equality, in spite of this recognized common origin, the Chellaha regard themselves as superior to the Haratin and the latter feel inferior. They try to raise themselves by marrying light-colored women." "When marriage is spoken of, says the proverb, the Arab asks: Is she from a good family? the chleuh /Shluh/: Is she rich? the hartani /Haratin/: Is she white?" De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, p. 88.

[538] [581]

still without being completely lost in the "ᶜamma." In the Haut-
[463] Atlas /High Atlas/ the Masmouda have resisted more, but, in the
[326] years of want, one sees the haraten, mostly blacksmiths or crafts-
men, marry daughters of notables. The minor sheiks of the high
[569] valleys almost all possess two or three black slaves, who marry in the country and whose children take their place little by little among the free men.

Jews form the most scorned class in Berbère /Berber/ country. They too, however, end up by in part entering the ranks /46/ of the "ᶜamma." Doubtless there are still quite large mellahs

*634 /344 cont./
*631 lord are entrusted to the "bab inebgioun," director of hospitality,
712 charged with ensuring their sustenance and that of their mounts.
[574] A doorkeeper, the "abouwab" (1),

1. From the Arabic bouwab, doorkeeper.

keeps the key to the women's house and has the "mouna," the daily food, taken to them. Finally several "moqaddem" are put in charge of the field crops and the immense orchards, acquired recently and by every means, in the best parts of the valley.
[466] They are the ones who assemble the corvées furnished by the tribes for the plowing and harvesting, and who see to the threshing and to the ensilage of the grain.

*631 At Tagontaft or at Talat n Yaqoub, we find all these various
*634 jobs still held in our day by the sons of the companions of the
571 amghar Mohammed. At present one scarcely sees appear among
[178] the kaid's confidential men a few young persons from the left of the "Aït Atman." Their fathers met death in the struggles at the beginning; their possessions have been "eaten" and their villages destroyed, but they end up by rallying to a regime that resists time. It is they who, in the newly conquered tribes, will make the kaid's orders respected, and their loyalty is guaranteed in all circumstances by the presence of their households humbly established close to the master's house.

*631 /345/ Thus, to the small army of mercenaries at the begin-
*634 ning comes to be added, little by little, a troop of volunteers
701 chosen from the tribe of origin. A few slaves serve as the balance
[567] in order to constitute a reliable group, entrusted on distant expeditions to a caliphate, relative or ally of the master. The tribes already subdued each bring their contingents commanded by kaids and sheiks, and without any pay they remain at the disposal of the caliphate for the duration of the war. These auxiliaries have, then, no resources to live on other than the ones that pillage gives.

*631 IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands.
652 -- But the extension of the power thus organized brings to the
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*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
• [567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/348 cont./

*631 *634 595 •[567] Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, without counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the former familial regime.

*631 *634 178 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly disturbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing and the governed increases more and more, and one would imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 *634 619 178 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still be observed in the more distant territories that have been successively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

[[75] In the short period during which the large commands were constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/360 cont./

*631 casbah, for one to be able to make a feudal baron of him (1).
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1. Doutté, Mârrakech, pp. 400-402.

*631 As this sagacious observer noted, two essential aspects of the
174 social life of our Middle Ages are entirely lacking in the country
171 of the great kaids: on the one hand, the regime of lands in no
423 way justifies a comparison with that of the feudal societies; on the other, no traditional hierarchy exists among the chiefs.

The possessions of the Berbère /Berber/ chief, as we have seen, are first of all the ones that he holds from his ancestors, poor little terraced fields bordered with stones near a mud house; from the time of his first exploits, the amghar has added to them the lands of his soff and leff enemies, which he seized by main strength; later, when he has been able to levy contributions, to overwhelm his subjects by ceaselessly renewed demands for money, he has become the acquirer of the best parts of the soil of the large valleys or of the Dir. But, having reached that degree of power, the great kaid considers himself the exclusive owner of the lands that he occupies; he often even respects the formalities of purchase and sale and grants some indemnities to the former masters of the country whom he has driven out; the cultivators are only his "khemmas," and we do not see them planting themselves
• [567] on his domain while preserving hereditary rights. Only the slaves,
[566] bought from the merchants at Taroudant or Marrakech, people the villages in the vicinity of the fortress, and they work the lands without ever becoming serfs.

Thus "tenures" do not exist in the Atlas, and the multiple and lasting relations that the land established among the various classes of feudal society in Europe are entirely lacking.

*631 As for the existence of a hierarchy among the amghars and the
*634 kaids, it will suffice for us to recall that the grades that we have
174 been led to distinguish between them depend solely on their power
171 and the importance of the small states that they have conquered; masters of a canton, tribe, confederation, their rank /361/ is thus determined by the social structure of the country, which is itself